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JOHN KINSEY.—I.

1693-1750.

After William Penn, no Colonial Quaker had the absolute confidence of his Friends in church affairs, and at the same time the strong leadership in the state to the extent possessed by John Kinsey. During the last decade of his rather short life he was the clerk of the Yearly Meeting, and its most responsible and influential member. He was also the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province, Speaker of the Assembly and the undoubted leader of his party in political management. By this time the factions within the Society had practically disappeared. It was one loyal united body in both state and church. The differences which separated Thomas Lloyd and George Keith, and later David Lloyd and James Logan, were no longer existent. New issues were soon to arise, but when John Kinsey came most prominently before the people, there was this calm which had been cemented by about thirty years of peace and prosperity, after the political upheaval of 1710. During this time the memory of the great Founder had grown more and more in the esteem of his people. His government was established in popular regard as a model of liberality and wisdom. His words were quoted and his example pointed to, in settling the problems which arose.

John Kinsey's grandfather, John Kinsey, was a member of the little band which settled Burlington in 1677. He died a few days after his landing at the Swedish Settlement of Shackamaxon. His standing may be estimated by the fact that he was one of the Commissioners sent by the proprietors of West Jersey to guard their interests. His son, John Kinsey, the second, was a prominent lawyer. In 1716 he was elected to the Legislature of New Jersey, of which he was for several years the speaker. He was also an active and acceptable minister among Friends traveling extensively through the colonies.

John Kinsey, the third, had therefore an inheritance of legal and ecclesiastical faculty which he greatly developed in himself. At the same time he had the Quaker discipline of his youth, and

a religious tendency in his early days which steadied and utilized his great powers to a life devoted to public service.

He was born in Burlington in 1693. He studied law, was elected to the Assembly of New Jersey, and became its speaker as the successor to his father. There are too few records of his public life and still less of his private to enable us to fill up this bare recital.

The first we hear of him in Philadelphia is in 1725, when he came to plead a case in court before Governor William Keith. He began to speak with his hat on. The Governor, who should have better informed himself as to Quaker scruples, ordered him to take it off. He refused, stating that he was acting from conscientious motives. The Governor ordered the court officers to remove it, and the incident seemed closed.

But to the Quarterly Meeting it was too vital a matter to be dropped in this way. It was an attack upon their religious liberty as they deemed it, and they sent a formal protest to the Governor.

"There is no people more willing than the Friends to pay all due regards to their superiors, to offer all honor to the courts of justice, and in every way consistent with their religious persuasions to pay all deference to their government and king; but when our conception of an individual's personal liberty is trespassed upon, we have openly and firmly borne our testimony against it in all countries and places where our lots have fallen."

Keith was a politic man determined to get along with every one. He could not afford to contest a little point like this with a people so strong in numbers and in influence as the Friends then were, and the following entry is found in the records of the Court:

"On consideration of the humble address presented to the Governor this day, read in open court, from the Quarterly Meeting of the people called Quakers, for the city and county of Philadelphia, it is ordered that the said address be filed with the register, and that it be made a standing rule of the Court of Chancery for the Province of Pennsylvania, in all time to come, that any person whatsoever, professing himself to be one of the peo-

ple called Quakers, may and shall be admitted, if they think fit, to speak, or otherwise officiate, and apply themselves decently unto the said courts without being obliged to observe the usual ceremony of uncovering their heads, by having their hats taken off; and such privilege hereby ordered and granted the people called Quakers shall at no time hereafter be understood or interpreted as any contempt or neglect of the said court, but shall be taken only as an act of conscientious liberty, of right appertaining to the religious persuasion of the said people, and agreeable to their practices in all the civil affairs of life."

To understand why the good Friends of the day made so much of this question of the hat, we must know the conditions of the times. During the seventeenth century men were accustomed to wear a head covering in the house as well as outside. They took it off only as an honor accorded to persons in superior station, and expected those of lower rank to take theirs off to themselves. The regicide judges refused to uncover their heads when they tried King Charles, and of course he refused to recognize their standing by uncovering his. A century later at the outbreak of the French Revolution, the popular Assembly insisted on wearing their hats in the presence of the nobility, as a testimony to their equality. The sturdy Puritanism of the early Friends disposed of the matter once for all, by uncovering to no one save God, neither to King nor Magistrate, Priest nor Judge. Bitterly they suffered for this testimony to democracy. They went to jail for months at the command of angry judges. William Penn wore his hat before King Charles II, and the pleasant monarch remarking that it was not customary in that presence for more than one to remain covered, took off his own. Under all circumstances they stood by their convictions, taking all that came of imprisonment, contempt or ridicule.

It was in 1725 too near this time for the cause to be given away in a Quaker Province, governed by the sons of those who had suffered in England, and the meetings unanimously accepted the challenge. Afterwards no Quaker lawyer or witness was required to remove his hat during colonial days.

John Kinsey moved to Philadelphia in 1730 at the age of

thirty-seven, and the same year was made clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was the strong and useful man of the body, and held the place till his death twenty years later.

The records of the meeting for these twenty years are full of John Kinsey's work. His name was scarcely ever absent from any important committee. The literary work of Friends of this time, including the London Epistles, the collection of minutes for the new discipline, the epistles to subordinate meetings, was very largely done by him. During most of the time he was engaged in gathering materials for writing a history of the early days of the Province, which material afterwards passed into the hands of Samuel Smith. He was the medium through whom the decisions of the meeting were conveyed to the public, as, note for instance, the following minute of 1738:

"John Kinsey was ordered to draw an advertisement to be printed in the newspapers of Philadelphia, in order to inform all whom it may concern that the book lately published by Benjamin Lay was not published by approbation of Friends; that he is not in unity with us, and that his book contains false charges as well against particular persons of our Society as against Friends in general."

Equally prompt was the State of Pennsylvania to demand his services. On the 20th of January, 1731, the sheriff asked admittance to the Assembly with the message, "In pursuance of a writ of the said sheriff, directed by the honorable the governor of the Province, John Kinsey, Gentleman, the day and year above mentioned was elected a representative in the Legislature to serve in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania this present year, in room of David Potts,[1] lately deceased." On the next day John Kinsey took his seat, which he held, with one slight intermission, to his death, and after 1739 was Speaker.

As with the Meeting, so with the Legislature, John Kinsey immediately became the important member, drawing up bills and addresses to the Governor, acting on committees, as trustee of public funds and real estate, as witness that the great seal was

[1] David Potts was a Friend and an ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt.

properly attached to laws, and whenever good sense and legal training could serve the public interests. For several years he was in addition Attorney General of the Province.

So matters went on till 1739, when Andrew Hamilton resigned the Speakership tired of its responsibilities and duties, and his faithful and unrewarded attention to the building of the State House. He had handed in his final accounts, and made his great farewell speech, perhaps the best résumé of Pennsylvania Colonial conditions ever given. There was no doubt that John Kinsey should be his successor.

On October 15, 1739, the Assembly met and "by a majority vote" made John Kinsey Speaker. The same day they presented him to the Governor, George Thomas, an appointee of the Penn family, who expressed in the formal way his satisfaction with their choice. He then made the usual requests of the Governor "that the House might have ready access to him at all reasonable times when the public business should require it: that they might enjoy freedom of speech in all their propositions and debates: that the members might be exempted from arrest during the sittings of the Assembly. that the Governor should give no ear to reports touching debates in the House till matters debated on passed into resolves: and that the Speaker's inadvertent mistakes might be excused. All of which he had requested as the just rights of the Freemen of Pennsylvania; and the Governor was pleased to assure the House that they should be protected in the full use and exercise of the same."

This little résumé of legislative privileges represented the gains made in the years by the Quaker Assembly, in securing the independence of the people's representatives from encroachment of the Proprietors and Governor. They were not likely to lose any of it under John Kinsey's vigorous leadership.

While they did not know it at the time the easy days of Quaker control were about at an end. They were to struggle along in the midst of wars and rumors of wars for some seventeen years longer, but against an ever-increasing opposition from the Proprietors on one side and the militant portion of the population on the other. While John Kinsey was alive they fought

the battle successfully in the legislative halls and at the polls. The contest began on the day following the choice of John Kinsey as Speaker.

About the same time that John Kinsey took up the Speakership, George Thomas was made Lieutenant-Governor under the Penns. He knew very little about the character of the people whom he came from the West Indies to govern, but he was a man of ability and resources. If he had been appointed a few years earlier in the times of peace he might have quietly adjusted himself to the conditions; but, unfortunately, Spain and England, as a result of differences centering in the West Indies, concluded to have a war, and Thomas was keen to support his royal master. The two men, Kinsey and Thomas, were pitted against each other as the leaders of the contest which was to follow. Whether we consider skill in disputations or in political management, the end of the struggle did not find the Quaker leader at any disadvantage.

The contest began when, in the Tenth month, 1739, Governor Thomas sent a message to the Assembly, suggesting that they make an appropriation to protect the province against attack, and assist the king. The Assembly took the matter into serious consideration, and explained in a somewhat lengthy preface that they were all loyal subjects, lovers of religious liberty, and that one of the principal motives which had brought them and their ancestors to the Province was the full enjoyment of liberty of conscience which was granted to them by their great Charter, and which the proprietor had pledged himself and his successors "according to the true intent and meaning thereof, should be kept and remain without any alterations inviolably for ever." And then they add, "It is not unknown most of them were of the people called Quakers, and principled against bearing arms in any case whatsoever." They admit that the circumstances have changed, and that a great many who have come in since think it to be their duty to fight in defense of their country, families and estates. These also have the same right of liberty of conscience with themselves. They do not condemn the use of arms in others, but they object to any law which would compel a man to

bear arms against his conscience; and they add that a law which forces other people to bear arms and relieves the Quakers would be inconsistent and partial. Then they make a suggestion to the Governor, which, if he had been wise, he would have adopted and dropped the matter. They point out that the Charter gave him ample authority to raise a troop himself, and that they did not propose to interfere with his actions in this respect, provided he did not trample upon anyone's conscience. The clause of the Charter granting this authority, which William Penn accepted, it may be interesting to note:

"To the Proprietor aforesaid, his Heirs and Assigns, by themselves or their Captains, or other their Officers, to levy, muster, and train all Sorts of Men of what Condition soever or wheresoever born in the said Province of Pennsylvania for the time being, and to make Warr and to pursue the Enemies and Robbers aforesaid as well by Sea as by Land, even without the Limits of the said Province, and by God's Assistance to Vanquish and take them, and being taken to put them to Death by the Law of Warr, or to save them at their Pleasure; And to do all, and every other thing which unto the Charge and Office of a Captain General of an Army belongeth, or hath accustomed to belong, as fully and freely as any Captain General of an Army hath ever had the same."

They wound up their address by the pious reflection:

"Not doubting but that Wee shall share in that Protection Our Gracious Sovereign denys not even to the meanest of His Subjects; And having at the same time a due dependence on that Power which not only calms the raging Waves of the Sea, but setts Limits beyond which they cannot pass; And remembering the Words of the sacred Text That 'Except the Lord keep the City the Watchman waketh but in vain.'"

We find in this paper several interesting indications of the state of feeling among Friends on the subject of war at this date. One was that they were unequivocally opposed to all war under all circumstances; another, that they had no words of condemnation for those who from good motives thought and acted differently, and, thirdly, that their reliance was upon a divine Providence who, they believed, would interfere for their protection.

The Governor was not disposed to recede from the contest. In an epistle equally lengthy he called their attention to the fact that they were representatives of the whole people; that he had no right to look into their personal religious persuasions, but that it was their duty as representatives to protect a rich Province from invaders. He did not wish to infringe any of their consciences, nor to introduce persecution, for he himself was a great friend of liberty. "But," he said, "as the world is now circumstanced, no purity of heart or set of religious principles will protect us from the enemy." The Assembly had recognized this in the institution of courts and juries. He told them that they would condemn "little rogues" to death for breaking into their houses, and yet they would not use similar means on a larger scale for meeting of the more organized attacks upon their property. He had not been unaware of the privileges granted to him by the Charter, and the very fact that William Penn was willing to accept the powers of a Captain-General under this Charter indicated his opinions as to the necessity of bearing arms in defense of his government.

The Assembly returned to the attack, and article by article, replied to the Governor's address. They showed that their position inland from the sea, protected by friendly colonies to the north, east and south, made them in no danger of being attacked. Consequently the Governor's argument for the need of defense had no bearing on the case. They will not admit the justice of the comparison between the "little rogue" and the "great invaders."

The Governor, in a couple of days, returned to the attack. He reproved them for their acrimony, which, he says, he little expected from men of their principles, and declares he will not engage in the discussion in that spirit. He thanks them sarcastically for their description of the geography of the Province, which he intimates he is not entirely unacquainted with. And then he again takes up the question of the burglar, where he evidently thinks he has a point.

The Assembly contented itself with a general reply to this, stating that they had no delight in controversy; that they did not believe the Province was in danger; that the early appropriations

of money for warlike purposes did not prove their utility; that they were steadfastly loyal to King George, and that on the basis of these well-known principles had always enjoyed the protection of the Crown, and that the Province would receive no ill effects from their lack of legislation. In the main their argument was that fighting in itself was very unlike the preparation for a storm on sea and they could not do it even for a good cause.

Then the Governor replies in a final argument, and asks the question which has never been answered: "If your principles will not allow you to pass a bill for establishing a militia, if they will not allow you to secure the navigation of a river by building a fort, if they will not allow you to provide armies for the defense of the inhabitants, if they will not allow you to raise men for his Majesty's service for distressing an insolent enemy, is it calumny to say your principles are inconsistent with the ends of government?"

There was a veiled irony in many of the Assembly's replies, which, I suppose, came from the pen of John Kinsey, and which delighted the men who, in the coffee-houses of Philadelphia, followed the controversy with great interest.

During the course of the controversy, parties were gradually forming, and this thrust and counterthrust of arguments were simply appeals to the constituents; for there were no editorial comments in the scanty papers of those days by which public opinion was influenced. The arguments were passed around by word of mouth or by written manuscript, and in many a coffee-house or country tavern, and doubtless also on the steps of the meeting-houses after the assembly was dismissed, they were repeated and illustrated with ever-increasing emphasis.

Not all Friends took the position that defensive war was inconsistent with Christianity. James Logan was the leader of a considerable company of young and well-to-do Philadelphians who openly espoused the other side. But at present they were opposed to the Governor's pretensions, and worked with their associates of the yearly meeting.

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

(*To be continued.*)

SOME FRIENDS AND INDIANS.

During the years of Zeisberger's missionary efforts among the Lenape Indians,[1] he says in his diary (1781-1808) begun after the removal (probably the fifth one) of his Gnadenhutten (Tents of Grace) from the Muskingum to Tuscarorwas County, Ohio, November 20, 1787, "A Quaker came here who lives in Chester [Pennsylvania]; his father named Isaac Pile had been taken prisoner on the Wabash by Piankashaws [2] (1780)."

Many mentions are also made of a Quaker, Abiah Parke,[3] who traded [4] for many years with the Indians and "dealt uprightly with them."

1793. Six Quakers, William Savery,[5] John Parrish, John Elliott, and Jacob Lindley, from Pennsylvania, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne, from New Jersey, accompanied the

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[1] D. G. Brinton, "The Lenape and their Legends."

[2] The Piankashaws had been driven West. Three chiefs of this tribe ceded land in the Treaty of Grenville, 1795. See "A Mission to the Indians," Martha E. Tyson, Philadelphia, 1862.

[3] This Abiah Parke was probably from Chester County, Pennsylvania. "He took sides with the British, and for one of his exploits led a party of the enemy by night to capture his uncle, Colonel Hannum, at Marshallton," left the parts, "and went to Canada, and never afterwards was heard of alive." Afterward is said to have married a Shawnese woman and left two sons. Futhey and Cope, "Hist. Chester County," p. 118, N.

[4] The women of Gnadenhutten made for sale mats, brooms, and baskets, the men canoes. Deer sold for $4 or $5 each. They likewise took quantities of honey from the wild bees of "the bush," and each family made from one hundred to two hundred pounds of maple sugar. One mention is made of their trading for flour at the rate of one pound of sugar for one pound of flour; but usually traders take sugar and sell at three shillings a pound.

[5] William Savery (1750-1804) was an eminent minister of Philadelphia. He was the one whose sermon at Norwich, England, 2d mo. 4, 1798, made such a lasting impression on the young Elizabeth Gurney, afterwards Elizabeth Fry.

American Peace Commissioners to Detroit, visited the Indians, left them $100 and a message for the Indian Church.[6]

1797. "A Quaker from the States came to see us and the Indians was much pleased." [7]

After the treaty of Grenville, August 3, 1795, the Yearly Meetings of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York appointed Indian Committees; Baltimore with charge of the Western Indians, until the establishment of Ohio Yearly Meeting [1813]; and Philadelphia "took by the hand" the Six Nations of New York State. But before this time, in 1794, the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia having been informed that the Indians particularly desired them to be present at a treaty to be held between the Six Nations of New York at Canandaigua, David Bacon, William Savery, John Parrish, and James Emlen offered their services, and were approved by the Meeting.[8]

The following letter from William Savery was forwarded after their return home from this visit.

Philadelphia, 1st month 24th, 1795.

My Good Friend, the Farmer's Brother,

By Capt. Chapin I thought proper to inform thee, & thy Nation, that me and all my friends who attended the Treaty at Canandaigua, arrived safe home and found our friends well—we Reflect frequently on your friendly Disposition toward us & the Issue of the Treaty, which we hope will be the means of a Lasting peace between you & the United States—

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[6] 1793. Information was received by the Friends of Philadelphia that a treaty was likely to be held at Sandusky, and that the Indians requested that they be present, and that they also "send to the children of Onas [William Penn] three strings of white wampum as a token of their friendship." The consent of their Monthly Meetings and the approbation of President Washington being obtained, the above-named Friends were appointed, taking with them an Epistle to the Indians from the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. See also "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," Phila., 1871, p. 634.

[7] E. De Schweinitz, "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," Philadelphia, 1871.

[8] Janney, "Hist. of Friends," vol. iv, 150; Journal of Wm. Savery, pp. 88, 89, Phila. ed.

we hope you will keep the Remainder of your Land in your hands, and learn to Cultivate it & that you will by all means keep in Peace with the White People as well as with your Indian Brethren & all men—this will be your greatest happiness, if we, your friends, the Quakers of Philadelphia Can be of any Service at any time, & we Desire you may be free in applying to us—with a great Deal of Regard & Desire for your Welfare, I am your friend.[9]

WILLIAM SAVERY.

ELLA K. BARNARD.

SAMUEL AND MARY (BECKET) BOWNE AND THEIR FRIENDS.—II.

CONCERNING MARY BECKET.

Reference was made in the last paper to the tradition that the mother of Mary Becket was an Elinor Percy.[1] No evidence has ever been found to substantiate this story, and the recently discovered history of Mary Becket makes it wholly untenable as well as the other tradition that she came as companion to an English woman minister.[2]

The late Thomas Stewardson, of Philadelphia, made a careful investigation into the history of Mary Becket, and succeeded in clearing up what had been a puzzling problem. The following account is based on his researches, the results of which were communicated by him to the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* during the years 1886-1887, supplemented by original letters and documents in the possession of the present writer.

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[9] O. Turner, "Hist. of the Holland Purchase," 1849.

[1] This story is given in W. H. H. Davis's "History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania," pp. 86, 106.

[2] It has been suggested that there has been a confusion between two ancestors named Mary—one, Mary Hornor, who *may* have been of Percy descent, and Mary Becket, who undoubtedly was not. *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 245, 246.

The first thing we know of Mary Becket is that her name is in the passenger list of the ship "Vine" of "Leverpoole," which arrived at Philadelphia "ffrom Dolyserne[3] near dolgules[3] in Merionethshire," "the 17th day of the 7 mo. [September] 1684." She is put down as being in the company of Henry Baker from Walton [near Preston] in Lancashire. The party consisted of "Henry Baker & Margaret his wife," their four daughters, two sons, Mary Becket, and ten servants. It must be remembered that the word "servants" means "indentured" servants which did not necessarily mean those who performed menial service, but who were analogous to college students of our day who work their way through college. They were bound for various terms so they could work out their passage money, etc.[4]

The Pemberton family were doubtless of yeomanry rank and lived in Lancashire. Phineas Pemberton was intimate with Roger Haydock, Robert Lowe, Henry Baker, and others. He and Phebe Harrison were married (1676) at the house of John Haydock (brother of Roger) at Cappull, Lancashire; and Henry, Roger, Elizabeth, and Anne Haydock, and Elinor Lowe are among the signers of the marriage certificate. Robert Lowe (probably the younger Robert) was Phineas Pemberton's apprentice in 1672.[5] These facts are mentioned to show the connection between the Pembertons, Lowes, and Haydocks.

Roger Haydock, of Cappull, was a prominent minister who traveled widely in Great Britain and Ireland, and on the Continent of Europe, and had his full share of the "sufferings" of the early Friends. On the "6th Day of the 3d Mo. [May] 1682" he was married to Elinor Lowe. After traveling in the ministry a few months, Roger Haydock "settled his wife at Warrington," 1682. "In the 5th mo. [July] 1687 he removed his wife and family from Warrington to Brick Hall in Penketh" [South

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[3] Neither of these names appears on modern maps. See *Penna. Mag.*, viii, 332, 333; Futhey and Cope, "Hist. Chester Co., Pa.," pp. 430, 431.

[4] According to Penn's liberal plan, each servant would have fifty acres of land when his time should expire.

[5] Comly's *Miscellany*, Vol. vii, 15-19, 1835.

Lancashire], which continued to be his home till his death in 3 mo [May] 1696." [6]

In her account of her "convincement" Elinor Lowe says of Roger Haydock that her acquaintance with him began "nigh from the time of my convincement . . . he being at the first Meeting I was at, when I received the Truth, altho' I could not say I was begotten into the Faith by him as a Father, yet can say, he was to me a faithful instructor and furtherer of me in the work of God as well by conversation as by ministry." Of a somewhat later date (1677) she writes, "About this time the Lord raised a concern of love in our hearts, each to other, relating to *marriage*. In which concern we felt the Lord's special hand to order us. It continued betwixt us for the space of five years." [7] In the meantime she, too, became a minister among Friends. It will now be well to say something about Elinor Lowe's lineage. Her mother was Elinor, daughter of Richard Gerrard, of Crewood Hall, near Frodsham, Cheshire. She married Robert Lowe and became the mother of Elinor [Jr.], John, and probably of Robert [Jr.], who was apprenticed to Phineas Pemberton at Bolton. Her brother John, like herself, became an active friend through Roger Haydock's influence.[8]

That Elinor Lowe, the daughter, was a woman of some property is probable from the fact that James Harrison, father of Phebe (Harrison) Pemberton, in a letter of 1681, says, "I am about to bargain for my house, in case I should go with William Penn." And he expressed a wish that Elinor Lowe might purchase it, that "it might be preserved for the Lord's service." [9] It might be well to remember that there were two

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[6] "Collection of the Christian Writings, etc., of Roger Haydock," London, 1700, pp. 207, 210, 214. See also Journal George Fox, Cambridge ed., ii, 493, 494; and also for John Haydock, *Ibid.*

[7] Writings of Roger Haydock, as above, "Elinor Haydock's Testimony Concerning her Husband," pp, 3, 5.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[9] Comly's *Miscellany*, vii, 22.

Elinor Haydocks, for the wife of Robert Haydock, a brother of Roger, was also named Elinor.[10]

Mary Becket, concerning whose parentage there has been so much doubt, according to the Parish Register of Middlewich, Cheshire, was the daughter of John Beckett and Mary Brundrett [Brandreth ?]. Her parents were married "4th of May 1671, and their daughter Mary was baptized on the 1st of October 1673. The Parish Records also tell us that Mary's mother was buried the very day of her infant's christening. What became of her father is not known."[11] Elinor Lowe, then living at Newton, near Middlewich, adopted the child, probably as an infant. Whether she undertook the charge from pity, or from relationship, or because she wished for the companionship of a child, we do not know. That she was a Friend at the time is shown from the dates given in her Testimony to her husband, Roger Haydock. Shortly after this the Lowe family moved to Crewood Hall, which had been the home of her ancestors. There appears to have been some sort of pre-nuptial agreement between Elinor Lowe and Roger Haydock, for the latter writes to Phineas Pemberton, "10th 7 mo [September] 1695," "Now as to accounts on Mary's behalf . . . as we concluded before we marryed to give Mary 100 l., so it was placed for her."[12]

Mary Becket evidently was a member of the Roger Haydock family until her departure for America. Concerning this, Roger Haydock, in his own name and that of his wife, writes from Warrington on the "7th 4 mo [June] 1684," to Phineas Pemberton in Pennsylvania:

> Along wth y^{e} bearer hereof cometh daugh^{r} Mary, as by y^{e} enclosed to thy fath^{r} which on purpose I leave unsealed thou may understand: To yo^{r} care wee comit her . . . and place you as in our stead; w^{ch} wee rest in hope you, that as a fatherly & motherly care over her, whom we truly

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[10] Writings, etc., of Roger Haydock, p. 214.

[11] *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 246.

[12] *Penna. Mag.*, x, 482. Owing to a combination of unforeseen circumstances, all this money, together with savings of interest, was lost. *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 245.

love, & who comes in her owne inclinacions for those p^ts^ to w^ch^ inclinacions wee have condescended. . . . And although shee come with H. B. [Henry Baker] . . . y^t^ if you see better to settle her either at her Arivall, or within a year's tyme, or more or lesse, wee impower you so to do, & w^t^ you do is & shall be accounted by us as if wee did it our selves. [13]

An enclosure dated at Liverpool on the 16th of the same month speaks of Henry Baker's detention by "a wicked priest," probably on account of tithes due, and adding:

. . . However, since our daughter Mary cometh along I entreat thy care of her when it shall please god y^t^ shee arives there; and wee fully . . . leave y^e^ disposeall of our daught^r^ to thy fath^r^ moth^r^ thy selfe & thy wife, even from the very day of her arrivall; and of yo^r^ care wee are not doubtfull. . . . I only add if it seem good to you y^t^ our daugh^r^ abide a little w^th^ Marg^t^ Baker . . . wee are satisfyed . . . & hope shee may in tyme be in a capacity of some place of p^r^ferm^nt^, or at least of a place, wherein shee may be of more service—yet wee leave all to you; and shall account w^t^ you do, as if wee did it ourselves. . . .

On the "20th 6 mo [August] 1686" Roger Haydock writes again to Phineas Pemberton:

. . . I have also Answered thy mind or Desire given about Mary, whom wee . . . have comitted to yo^r^ care we leave under yo^r^ care, hopeing shee will comply w^th^ y^r^ Advice & Answ^r^ you in our names, as if wee were p^r^sent to requyre, order or dispose of for her good . . . wee received her love by her owne hand expressed, w^th^ love Answering it, & desire she may improve her handwriting. [14]

So far the letters which throw light on the coming to America of Mary Becket. Though she could have been an inmate of Roger Haydock's house barely two years, Roger Haydock and his wife uniformly call her "daughter," and she herself always speaks of them as "deare father and mother." So far as it has been possible to examine the correspondence there is no intimation even of the actual relationship. Moreover, in a letter of Jane Biles, a Friend visiting England, in writing from Liverpool, "3d mo. [May] 25th, 1703," to Mary (Becket) Bowne, says,

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[13] *Penna. Mag.*, x, 482.

[14] *Penna. Mag.*, x, 482. As Henry Baker arrived at Philadelphia with his party, he somehow got released from the "wicked priest's detention."

"we were at thy dear mother's house."[15] Doubtless these facts helped to strengthen the tradition of her being the daughter of an Elinor Percy. As Mary Becket had never known her own mother, it is natural that Elinor (Lowe) Haydock should take that place in her affections.

As Mary Becket was born in 1673, she was about eleven years old when she came to America, which accounts for Roger Haydock speaking of her as of a child, as has been seen. In other letters he says, "Shee is growing up and wee hope in a little tyme may be capable of doing some kind of service;" "I cannot promise to myselfe y^t y^e child's stay for any considerable tyme w^{th} H: B: [Henry Baker] can turn to her profitt." "As to her table wages the Agreement w^{th} H: B: was onely for one year, w^{ch} wee were free in because of his trouble in taking her over, then she was left to you.[16] It would seem, therefore, that Mary Becket was to pay the Bakers for their care of her during the voyage to America by living with them and waiting on the table. These household duties were not considered at all derogatory, being looked upon in the nature of an apprenticeship. Whether Mary Becket was longer with the Bakers than one year, does not appear. The fact that she was mature enough to desire to emigrate on "her owne inclinacions" which were regarded by her adopted parents implies a precocious child, which may account for the fact that the Bakers apparently wished to keep her two years, but the decision was left by the Haydocks to the judgment of the Pembertons. Mary Becket probably after a little more than a year, became one of the family of Phineas and Phebe Pemberton, remaining with them till her marriage in 1691. She evidently was treated as a daughter and a strong mutual attachment sprung up which lasted through life.[17]

(*To be continued.*)

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[15] From MS. memoranda.

[16] *Penna. Mag.*, xi, 124, 125.

[17] See the correspondence in BULLETIN, Vol. VII, pp. 85-89.

ROGER HAYDOCK DEBT[R]
TO
PHINEHAS PEMBERTON
FOR
DISBURSEMENTS ON ACCTT
OF
MARY BECKET[1]

		£	s	d
	The ballance of an acctt sent thee dated the 22 $\frac{12}{mo}$ 1687	01	15	06¾
	To monys not yet Rcd for the sughars (?) first sent & sold to Wm: Berry who marryd Naomy Walley	02	00	00
	pd Jacob Hall for i paire shooes	00	05	00
22 $\frac{10}{mo}$ 1688	5 yrds of linnen at 2^s 10^d pr yd	00	14	02
	Linsey woolsey 3 yrds at 3^s 6^d pr yrd & three (?)	00	10	06
	pd John Brock on her acctt	00	04	00
	Scotch Cloth for a fine shift 3 yds.	00	08	06
	whale bone y^d (?) att	00	02	03
24 $\frac{8}{mo}$ 1689	Linnen Cloth 5½ yrds at 2^s 6^d p y.	00	13	09
	Linnen & Cotten 2¾ yrds at 2^s 6^d p yd	00	06	10½
30 ditto	i paire of shooes att	00	05	00
	Woole 8 lbs att 15^d p lb & Lent 3^d.	00	10	03
	1 lute string hood cost 9^s 3^d; 1 say (?) apron 6^s	00	15	03
	to Griffith owen for physick	00	01	00
	Indico [?] att	00	00	09
	Linnen Cloth ¾ yrd att	00	01	10½
	Cotten 6 yds (?) att 15^d p y	00	07	06
	Laces 6 at 9^d; i paire of shoos 5^s.	00	05	09

[1] From the original in possession of the editor.

1 pc filliting att 00: 03: 06
Cotton 5 yds at 6^{s} 3^{d} flax 1 lb
at 18^{d} 00: 07: 09
1 Rideing frock of Dyed Callico .00: 11: 00
one large white Apron 8^{s} 00: 08: 00
more linnen 3^{s} 9^{d} thrid & silk 4^{d} ..00: 04: 01
3 bookes 18^{d}, 2 coifes 2^{s} 00: 03: 06
12 $\frac{3}{mo}$ 1 bgo stuf, 1 yrd 6 nailes to couer a
paire of staies with at at 3^{s} 6^{d}
pr yd 00: 04: 09¾
silk & thread 3^{d} Lin Cloth 1 $\frac{11}{48}$ yrd
at 6^{d} 00: 03: 01
taylors work 2½ days att 00: 06: 06
flax 6 bs att 00: 00: 08
Cotten ½ ^{lb} at 9^{d} 1 ^{lb} 20^{d} 00: 02: 05
25 $\frac{4}{mo}$ 1 bgo Cotton & linnen 1⅛ yrd att..00:03: 04½
31 $\frac{5}{mo}$ tape 7^{d}; sizer [?] chaine 6^{d}
pins 10^{d} 00: 01: 11
sizers (?) 1 paire 6^{d} lases 6^{d} 00: 01: 00
muslin 2½ yrds att 6^{s} 00: 12: 06
Riben 6^{d} ferrel (?) Riben 9^{d}
threed 3^{d} 00: 01: 06
1 barmoodoes bonnet 2^{s} 6^{d} blew lin
3 yrds 5^{s} 00: 07: 06
tape 3^{d} Lane (?) 1½ yrd at 3^{s} 6^{d}
pr yd 00: 05: 03
Kniting needles for 00: 00: 06
2 paire of shoos att 00: 10: 00

Transported 14: 06: 10

£ s d

Summe Brought over .....14: 06: 07 [sic]
Linen ¾ yrd att 2^{s} 3^{d} lent in
mony 4^{d} 00: 02: 07
taylor work 00: 04: 10
Crape ½ yrd 1 yrd att 00: 01: 04

dyed Crape 1 yrd att 00: 03: 06
Blew linnen 2 yrds att 00: 06: 00
threed 3d pd G. owen for physick
4s 00: 04: 03
ditto pd Roger Parke for physick
and his visit in her sickness 00: 06: 00
wine 1 qrt att 00: 02: 00
alamode silk for a hood band &
linneing her bonnet 2¼ yrds &
Ribon 1½ yrd all at 00: 14: 00
woole ½ lb att 7½d thread 1d
thread 9d 00: 01: 05½
Laces ½ doz att 00: 00: 06
Serge for a Rideing gowne 5 yrds
att 6s 6d pr yrd att 01: 12: 06
Silk 5½d & buttons 2 doz 1s Riben
1½ yrd 9d 00: 02: 02½
taylors work for making the Gown.00: 02: 09
serge 2s Linnen & Cotton 1½ yrd
4s 6d 00: 06: 06
1 Knife 1s [something erased] ...00: 01: 00
thread 3d 23 $\frac{1}{mo}$ 90: 1 pr shoos 5s.00: 05: 03
1 pr pattens at 2s thread 5d 00: 02: 05
8 $\frac{3}{mo}$ 91 1 shift at 6s needles 5d Crape 3s 6d
1 yd 00: 09: 11
ditto ¼ yrd 10½d satin Riben [?].00: 05: 03
22 tape 10 yrds 15d pins 3d 00: 01: 06
White duble Crape 4¼ yrds at
3s 6d p yrd for a petecoate 00: 14: 10½
thread 2d 2 hankirchifs 6s 00: 06: 02
payd Henry Baker for one yeares
dyet 04: 07: 06
pd Henry Baker for weaveing for
her 00: 09: 06

26: 00: 07½

11 y^{e} $\frac{7}{mo}$ 1691	silk for a scarfe 2½ yrd at	1	04	09
	1 Sarcenet hood att	0	12	00
	holland 5 yrds for 2 shifts att 6^{s} pr yrd	1	10	00
	fferet Riben 7¼ yrd att	0	00	09
	1 Side Saddle with furniture viz bridle croupper girths brest plate &c.	2	03	00
	whale bone att	00	02	06
	thread 1^{d} linnen Cloth 3^{s}	00	03	01
	1 paire shooes att	00	05	00
	more cloth 5^{s} 9^{d} thread 2½^{d}.....	00	05	11½
	duble Crape 6 yrds att 3^{s} 9^{d} pr yrd.	01	04	00
	woole ½ lb. att 8^{d}	00	00	08
	ditto Crape white 5 yrds 3^{s} 6^{d} pr yrd	00	17	06
	Copperas 2 lb att	00	00	01½
11 y^{e} $\frac{7}{mo}$ 1691	1 stuft gown & pettecoate with trimming taylor worke att	03	17	00
16 ditto	thread ½ 2½^{d} silke 1^{s} 8^{d}	00	01	10½
	serge for a hood & mantle 4 yrds..	01	06	00
	Transported	39	14	10

	£	s	d
Summe Brought over	39	14	10
1 paire of Shooes 5^{s} flax 2 lb 3^{s} 4^{d}	00	08	04
white Linnen 2 yrds 5 nails	00	04	03
cotton & linnen ¾ yrd	00	02	06
thread 4^{d} white thread 2½ 15^{d}....	00	01	07
gallone 1 yrd att	00	00	06
taffety & ferret Riben 2 yrds 7 nails	00	01	03
(?) linnen ½ ⅛ yrd att	00	01	10½

green silk 8d Hemp lane ¾ yrd
2s 3d 00: 02: 11
needles 00: 00: 03
Taylor work for makeing one
gowne pettecoate hood mantle
waste coates & stays & 9 days ..01: 04: 00
duble crape white 13¼ yrds at
3s 6d pr yrd 02: 06: 04½

44: 08: 08
three (?) 00: 00: 04½
Hemp lane 5½ yrds att 5s pr yrd..01: 07: 06
narrow scotch Cloth 3 yrds at 3s 6d.00: 10: 06
blew linnen 3¼ yrds att 2s pr yrd.00: 06: 06
musling 1 yrd att 00: 06: 00

Cuntry acctt 46: 19: 06½
But being reduced to English makes
= 37l: 11s: 06

Rogr Hadock pr Cont Creditor £ s d
Rcd by Shadrach Walley 01: 04: 06
By bill payable to Sam Carpenter
or ordr wch if payd is 20: 00: 00

Cuntry acct 21: 04: 06
Being Reduced to English acctt makes
16l: 19s: 06d
So that there Rest due to Ballance
in English mony 20l: 12s: 00....20: 12: 00

wch is in Cuntry..25: 15: 00½
day
The 23 8 mo 1691

DEARE FATHER AND MOTHER

I have had the perusal of the Above mentioned and do know it to bee a Just And true account for I have Receved the goods there in Contained and desire that you may take Ceare to Reimburse his Charge ffor If you

do not then I must take Ceare to do it my selfe which I hope you will Consider will fall hard upon mee in our yong beginning[2] but having no dout of youre tender Regard which hither to hath beene largly manyfested to wards mee which is and all wees Shall bee Kindly and Regarded by mee who am in endeared love youre duteiful douter.

MARY BOWNE

A REQUEST OF PRINCETON STUDENTS TO RACHEL WILSON, OF KENDAL, 1769.[1]

The following interesting document has been communicated by Norman Penney, of London. For some account of Rachel Wilson see the next article.—EDITOR.

MADAM. Nassau Hall, May 20th, 1769.

We, whose names are subscribed, students of the College of New Jersey, would regard it as a singular obligation if you would favour us with a sermon on Monday next, at whatever time of the day you may please to appoint as most suitable. Some circumstances render it in some measure difficult for us to do ourselves the pleasure of hearing you tomorrow. Your compliance, Madam, will be most gratefully acknowledged by your hhble servts.

Elihu Thayer	David Zubly	James Linn
Caleb Russell	William Willcocks[3]	P. Kettletas
Jas. Wilson	Thos. McFerrin	Saml. Baldwin
Hunloke Woodruff	Josiah Pomeroy	Peter DeWit
John C. Ogden	Andrew Lott	Jesse Reed
Thomas Melvill	John Henry	Alexr. Moorhead
Andrew Hodge	F. Freelinghousin[4]	Jno. Blindenburg
Nathl. Erwin	Stephen Tracy	Nathan Penking (?)[6]
Saml. Niles	Saml. Spring	Ebenezer Finley
Bedford Williams	S. McDougall	Jno. Campble
John Smith	Edm. Cheesman	Mathias Williamson
John A. McDougall	George Smith	Moses Allen
James Taylor	Jno. Taylor	Jno. R. Davis
Phillip (?)[2]	Samll. Harzard[5]	Gunning Bedford[7]

[2] As Mary Becket was married "4th of 8th mo 1691," this letter was written soon after.

[1] From Gibson MSS., iii, 85, in Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London.

[2] Undecipherable. [3] Probably a well-known citizen of Philadelphia. [4] Present spelling *Frelinghuysen*. [5] Probably, *Hazzard*. [6] Indistinct. [7] Doubtless the distinguished citizen of Delaware, Gunning Bedford (1747-

Joseph Ross	Isaac Smith	Joseph Eckley
James Green	Azariah Horton	Henry Waggamaman
Samuel Smith	Hugh Craig	Caleb Wallace.

Addressed: "To Mrs. Rachel Wilson
Present."

Endorsed: "Request from the Students of Nassau Hall in New Jersey, May 20, 1769."

RACHEL WILSON OF KENDAL.
1722-1776.

NOTES AND INCIDENTS OF HER VISIT TO AMERICA, 1768-1769.

Rachel Wilson (1722-1776) was the daughter of John and Deborah Wilson, of Kendal, Westmorland, England. She married Isaac Wilson, son of Anthony and Dorothy Wilson, of Highwray, near Hawkshead, who had moved to Kendal in his youth.[1]

Rachel Wilson was recorded a minister when eighteen, and in the course of her life traveled considerably in the ministry. In 1768 she visited America. She landed at Philadelphia Tenth month 16, 1768, and remained in the colonies a few weeks over a year. "Her journey in America was performed almost entirely on horseback. It was a journey of many thousand miles through districts then very imperfectly cleared, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, New York and New England. Her simple narrative (still preserved amongst the family records) gives a vivid picture of the toil and occasional peril then to be encountered in passing through dense forests, in some places almost impenetrable, in the fording of deep rivers where the horses were often obliged to swim, and in many other hardships."[2] One incident of the southern journey is thus described in her journal:

1812), who was in the Continental Congress, 1783-1786, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and signer of the Constitution, 1787.

[1] "Piety Promoted," Isaac Wilson, iii, 147, Phila. ed.

[2] J. B. Braithwaite, "Memoirs of Anna Braithwaite," London, 1905, p. 42.

"12th month 16th, 1768. On 6th day morning we set forward on our journey, though the prospect was very discouraging. The snow was so thick, and the trees so laden that many were broken down, and the road was almost stopped up in places. My horse being full of spirit rushed through the snow, that I often was in danger of being thrown off, and before I had ridden a mile, a large tree, under which there was not room for him and me to pass, took me quite off. I fell into a hollow way with my head down, where I must have perished, if help had not been at hand. But my kind companion was soon off his horse, ready to assist, and, being strong and willing to exert himself for my relief, soon got me out of the snow, and I found myself able to walk, though my leg was much crushed. I got on to my horse and made a shift to ride fifteen miles to one Samuel Woods, that kept an inn where they behaved kindly, and I had my leg bathed and gave it what relief I well could. Having a mind to sit with the neighbors that were inclined to come, notice was given, and a large meeting we had in the evening, which the great Master was *pleased to own with His presence to our admiration and comfort.*"[3]

The southern journey just referred to was begun soon after her arrival at Philadelphia. Her companions of this long and even perilous undertaking were Samuel Morton, of Philadelphia, and Sarah Jenney [Janney ?]. They appear to have made Charleston, South Carolina, their southernmost point. The following letter throws considerable light on her services, and also refers to the accident just mentioned:

RACHEL WILSON TO ISRAEL PEMBERTON.

Charlestown, 2d mo: 1769.

. . . After a journey of twelve weeks from Philadelphia we arrived here last fifth day where I agreeably met with thine of the 13th of 12th mo: as also that of the 19th of 1st mo: both which contributed to my satisfaction and proved as cordial drops to revive my drooping spirits which was at the time low enough; though I have no just cause to complain having been favored in every respect far above my desert, yet we have met with our trials in many respects. The fall I had from my horse was not one of the least as my leg was much bruised and the skin broke, yet I bore riding pretty well that we did not lie by any on that account, though many thought I must have rested before it would be healed,—had

[3] "Mem. Anna Braithwaite," as above, pp. 43, 44.

not faith been strong I had certainly fainted. I cannot help viewing it almost next to a miracle myself, that I was enabled to get along so well under such a great disadvantage scarcely able to point the ground with one foot for upwards of a month,—in a poor part of the country where we did not abound with many superfluities in either meat or drink yet preserved in patience and resignation to the Divine will believing that all things would work together for good which we have evidently experienced in our steppings along under every trial. May we ever remember with humble gratitude the many wonderful deliverances and bless and praise the great name of our God, who hath thus far sweetened every bitter cup and qualified for service called to, above some of our expectations, having visited at the back settlements where there's any that bears our name unless one and many places beside, where we were kindly received and I hope some lasting impressions left behind, that can now look back with satisfaction and thankfulness of what is past. Samuel Morton hath proved a true help meet. I have often had cause to believe he was of the Great Master's preparing for the work whereunto he had been called, as also Sarah Jenney (Janney?) who hath also proved agreeable in all respects that we have travelled together in great harmony. We have had several meetings here to satisfaction, the hearts of the people seem open to receive us, and the doctrine we have to deliver both in public and private having been favored in many families of what is called the greater sort, that cannot but acknowledge we have met with an opened door than I expected in this place, being very much cast down in my coming here under a sense of my own weakness which I ever desire to be thoroughly acquainted with in order that my dependence may be entirely upon Him that is alone sufficient for every engagement He calls to. The account thou gives of Daniel Stanton and thy brother John was pleasing; it's certainly doing the will whereby we come to know more and more of the Heavenly doctrine,—its work I love, that of visiting families—believing it to be of singular service to the church, where it is rightly gone about and entered into. My dear love to them both. I hope to be at liberty to leave this place tomorrow and return towards the north. It's probable we may reach West River [Maryland] Yearly meeting, but that cannot be determined at present, if we should be favoured to get well along. I've met with so many interruptions in the writing of this that I doubt thou'lt have difficulty to stammer it over, but as it's the production of pure love I shall not make any apologys, but conclude with the tenders of unfeigned love to thee and thy dear wife in which my companions unite with.[4]

Thy truly sympathizing friend

RACHEL WILSON.

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[4] From a MS. copy of the original letter in the Library of the Histor. Soc. of Penna.

It was on her return journey that she called upon Patrick Henry, the distinguished Virginia statesman, at this time thirty-two years old, but already famous for his Stamp-Act speech of 1765. The entry in her journal is as follows:

3d mo. 31st 1769. On our return to our quarters at night we called by the way to see one of the Assembly men, who was a man of great moderation, and had appeared in Friends' favour. His name is Patrick Henry. He received us with great civility, and we had an open time in his family, after which he made some sensible remarks.[5]

Rachel Wilson must have reached Philadelphia not later than the early part of Fifth month, 1769. She then started on her visit to New York and New England, taking some meetings of New Jersey on the way. One of the early halts was Trenton, from which place she went on to Princeton where she received the "Request" given on page 24. The following extract from her journal is, so far as known, the only reference she makes to her Princeton visit.

Was at Mtg at Trentown it being Courtime Meny of ye Lawyers Came & great was ye favour Extended to us yt day Dined at Wm Morris whear we had a seasonabl opertunity at table after came to Isaac Clarks 11 miles Lodgd thair in ye morning had some servis Before we came away Visited Sam worth who was in a fever was at Stony Brook Meetg which was much croudd with all sorts of peopl whear Divin goodness was Graciously Pleased to Reach to meny with his Living Powerful truth to the strengthing of our faith in his own Devin arm finding My Self not quite clear apointd a meetg at half Past four which was held in the Colledge to prety good Satisfaction tho so Crowdd that a good part stoud ye Students Behaved well and several of em Came and spoak to me after we loged with Joseph Horner Dined with Richard Stockden a Lawer who with his wife was very kind.[6]

One can but regret that no mention is made of the students' "Request." It would be interesting to know how it was received and how answered, but this will have to be left to conjec-

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[5] See also Wm. Wirt Henry, "Life of Patrick Henry," i, 117, where this incident is described.

[6] Copied from the original, *verbatim et literatim*, by Rachel Wilson's great-great-granddaughter, Anna B. Thomas, and contributed by her.

ture. As the 20th of Fifth month, 1769, came on Seventh-day the reason for the students asking for a special meeting on "Monday" was probably because no meeting could be arranged for Sunday. Whether the appointed meeting she refers to was that requested by the students does not appear.

The data for an extended account of Rachel Wilson's travels in New York and New England are not at present available, but some glimpses of her journey can be given through the following letters and memoranda:

JOHN PEMBERTON TO HIS WIFE.

New London, 6 mo. 6th, 1769.

MY DEAR:—

I arrived here last evening from the east end of Long Island with the two women friends, W. Franklin, Geo. Bowne, J. Pearson, and another friend. We had a fine wind and sailed upwards of 30 miles in less than 4 hours and are now through mercy all bravely. I have craved to be thankful that I enjoy a quiet mind and better health than for some time before I left home and though have travelled diligently have not been much fatigued nor my horse who holds it well, except that his back is bruised, and friend Wilson likes brother Israel's horse well. We were at two meetings last 6th-day and one on 7th day and rode about 38 or 40 miles. On first day had meetings, two of them we stopped as we rode along the road, one was a meeting house of a people called separatists held under the trees, where divers young people and some few elders staid, but divers went into their place of worship though their minister not there, appeared shy of us, yet to those that attended the Truth was freely declared, and we passed on and stopped at another meeting house and at the conclusion of their worship the minister gave liberty to speak. It was a large congregation and they heard with attention, though in that part of the island they were much strangers to friends, and yesterday we had a large meeting at Southold and Truth favored therein and we are just come from a large meeting much favored in the Presbyterian meeting house.[7]. . .

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[7] From a MS. copy of the original letter in the Library of Histor. Soc. of Penna.

JOHN PEMBERTON TO HIS WIFE.

Newport, 6 mo. 13th 1769.

My dear:—

In my last per Captain Anthony I acquainted thee that I, with the friends arrived safe here about 10 at night 7th inst. in good health, which through Divine favor is yet continued to me. The yearly meeting here ended last evening and through its several sittings both for worship & discipline was favored with the Divine presence, which is cause of renewed thankfulness. It's thought here to have been the largest meeting known for many years; the house here is very large but could not contain the people by a great number. Great numbers not professing with us attended and behaved with sobriety and solid attention in the general, and friend Wilson was favored to speak to them with clearness and Divine authority. She is favored with a strong constitution and supported greatly, and she omits no opportunity of discharging herself and is happily preserved solid and watchful, and her offerings both public and private seasoned with the salt of the covenant. Meetings are now given out until next 2d day, 2 in the day on our way to Dartmouth whence we propose to take shipping for Nantucket, that I cannot yet tell when, my dear, to look for me. . . . George Bowne and Jos. Pearsall set off his morning by water for New York. I did propose to have sent a line by them, but I lay too late this morning, for I was a little spent last night with the long meetings we have had from day to day, beginning generally at 7 in the morning and little intermission till night, tho I was up before 6 o'clock, but that is a late hour for me to lay since I parted with thee.[8] . . .

In accordance with the plan mentioned in the preceding letter, Rachel Wilson and her companions, John Pemberton and Sarah Hopkins, visited Nantucket.[9] While on the island she was instrumental in settling a long-standing dispute which had brought discredit upon the Society. The matter is referred to in the following memoranda:

Memoranda many years afterwards by Moses Brown of Providence, throw some light upon this case of difference and show how it was at length terminated.

Notwithstanding the foregoing letter the affecting case continued for fourteen years after, when Rachel Wilson was at Nantuckett She pre-

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] L. S. Hinchman, "Early Settlers of Nantucket," p. 322.

vailed to have the case of a half share of land which was Stocked double to the injury of most of the Islanders, left to a Committee as they were called. Viz. Stephen Hopkins, Thomas Steere, Wm. Redwood, Benjamin Arnold, Edward Shove & Moses Brown, who in the fall of 1769 attended, heard the Claims on both sides, Examined the Record, stated the Case and gave their Decision which terminated the case; the stock on one side was withdrawn & the Person was acquitted of Surreptitiously getting a deed on Record by which one party claimed, for it appeared the opposite parties' papers were also recorded by the same Penman.

On reading the foregoing letter I penn'd this memorandum this 26th of 5th mo 1823. In recollection of the sorrowful case tho' I was not then nor till several years after a member among friends, and to the credit of Rachel Wilson & the Influence of hir divine Master this Settlement was made, for it was thro' her wise & Discreet management and Influence she prevailed on Stephen Hopkins & me to undertake to go and attend to the Business. It was my lott to examine the Record and in so doing a worthy man then a minister, Elisha [?] Coleman was cleared of the charge made against him which fully paid me for my trouble and care in the business at the time: which I mention to the memory of Rachell Wilson as without her favoured influence as an Instrument the work would not have been effected.

She was indeed a wise and favoured minister and an Apostle of Usefulness to me.[10]

Moses Brown.

It seems likely that Moses Brown's memory was at fault as regards the name of the individual. Some research has failed to discover any *Elisha* Coleman, but there was an *Elihu* Coleman, a minister, and prominent Friend living on Nantucket at the time of Rachel Wilson's visit, and it is probable that he was the man. He was one of the early protesters against slavery. (See Smith's *Catalogue of Friends' Books*, I, 439.)

Moses Brown here mentioned was the celebrated merchant and manufacturer of Rhode Island, the great philanthropist, the benefactor of Brown University, after whom, with his brother Nicholas, it received its present name. He also was almost the founder of Friends' Boarding School, Providence, Rhode Island,

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[10] This paper was communicated by Norman Penney. It is in Portfolio 21, 95, Friends' Reference Library, Devonshire House, London, E. C.

and which in his memory was given its present title, "Moses Brown School." His long life of ninety-eight years (1738-1836) was one continued period of benevolence wisely administered. The last paragraph means more than appears on the surface, for it was through Rachel Wilson's ministry more than anything else that he was brought into the Society. "At Providence, Rhode Island, a member of the Assembly attended a meeting at which she was present, and was much impressed under her ministry. Being unwilling to admit that he had been so much influenced under the ministry of a woman, he attended several other meetings where other ministers were present, but was at last obliged to confess that it was under the ministry of Rachel Wilson that he was first effectually reached. This was Moses Brown."[11] He became a member with Friends in 1774.

The Stephen Hopkins (1707-1785) mentioned as a member of the committee, was one of the ablest statesmen of Colonial days. He was four times Governor of Rhode Island, Chief Justice, and the holder of many other offices of trust. He was member of the Continental Congress (1774-1780), and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence—his shaky signature, due to palsy, is one of the most conspicuous of the list. He was a Friend, a member at least, for he does not seem to have held Friendly views as to war. He was disowned in Third month, 1773, for refusing to set free a negro slave-woman. This is a curious circumstance, for he afterwards became a strong advocate for the abolition of slavery.

Rachel Wilson appears to have visited some meetings in New York on her return journey to Philadelphia, for there is a tract bearing the following title: "A Discourse delivered on *Saturday*, the 10th day of *August*, 1769. At the Friends' *Meeting-house*, in Beekman's Precinct, *Dutches County*, in the Province of New York. By the celebrated Rachel Wilson, (One of the People called *Quakers*) To a numerous Audience of different Persuasions. *Taken in Short Hand, from the Mouth of the Speaker, by one of the Audience.*"

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[11] "Mem. of Anna Braithwaite," p. 44.

"*New York: Printed; Newport, Rhode Island; Re-printed and sold by Solomon Southwick, in Marlborough Street.* 1769." 12mo.

Rachel Wilson reached Philadelphia in time to attend the Yearly Meeting at that time held in the Ninth month. The following anecdote is related of her:

"In the Yearly Meeting . . . held at Philadelphia, in the 9th month, 1769, . . . she appeared divers times; and once, when she was about to express something relative to herself, she signified she was led from her own concern to speak to our friend John Woolman, who was under a concern to visit some of the islands. She addressed him with much sympathy, and ardently wished the good hand might be with him; and enable him to divide the word aright, to the honour of the great name, the comfort of those among whom he had to labour, and his own lasting peace. And for his encouragement, she testified, that as she steadily eyed her great Master from day to day, she had been in no lack of anything; but he had been altogether sufficient.

In the concluding sitting, she imparted much solid advice, particularly to elders, whom she compared to the golden snuffers under the law, that were made of the same beaten gold with the lamps; and remarked that if a proper use was made of the snuffers, by taking away that which dimmed the lustre and was superfluous, the light would burn and shine clearer and brighter. But some were so fond of snuffing, that they at length wasted the life of the candle, and had sometimes put it out." [12]

The estimation in which she was held is shown also by "A Farewell to Rachel Wilson," by John Drinker, then Clerk of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It is written in verse and extends to ten stanzas, forty lines in all. The spirit pervading the lines is commendable, but it is evident that the author lacked the poetic gift; one stanza will suffice.

"Cloth'd with the love that makes the lily white,
Thy fervent labors, WILSON, have been bless'd,
Or this FAREWELL had never seen the light,
Nor thus a fellow worm had thee address'd." [13]

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[12] Comly's "Miscellany," viii, pp. 221, 222.

[13] Comly's "Miscellany," iv, 239.

The exact date of her sailing cannot be given, but it was early in the Eleventh month, 1769, as implied in the following letter of her husband:

ISAAC WILSON TO JOHN PEMBERTON.

Kendal, 22d of 3d mo. 1770.

DEAR FRIEND:—

Thy favor of the 18th of 11th mo. last which came to hand some time ago, ought not to be passed over in silence, as it was expressive of so great regard for my dear wife and anxious desire for her safe passage across the great ocean, again to be favored with meeting the tender connections she had left behind, which for a season had been suspended for the cause's sake which in due time was accomplished to our mutual joy and rejoicing, of which I doubt not our valuable friends on your side the water will be apprised before this time and that the account will be truly acceptable. I hope our rejoicing on this occasion has not been without fear and trembling which has covered some of our minds, at times, under a sense of the many preservations both by sea and land and how wonderfully she was furnished with ability both inwardly and outwardly to get through the arduous engagement in so short a time, much less than I expected at her setting out. . . . It is now about three months since my dear reached her own habitation in less than six weeks from the time of her leaving Philadelphia, and since her return she has been favored with as good a state of health as at any time since we first joined hands very little if any impaired in her bodily strength which is what I could not have expected, but rather that after she had settled at home, she would find the effects of so close and almost incessant labor, but very little of this has appeared, and all our family have been favored with the like enjoyment which is a blessing highly to be prized. . . .

Both the certificates from your meetings and thy own account as an individual, give me great satisfaction to find thereby that her steppings along in the service in your parts was so satisfactory to friends and that she was so aided to proceed therein and that the renewings of strength continued to the conclusion thereof, at least to her own peace and comfort, is a matter of thankfulness to my mind.

The tenderness and great care extended by friends in order to render outward circumstances as easy as possible was doubtless of great service to her, of which I retain a grateful sense, particularly thy accompanying her so long in her eastern journey, thy brother Israel's lending her his own beast in order that she might be well accommodated in that respect, and Samuel Morton's leaving his family so long to accompany her

in the long southern journey, all which were very agreeable to her and singularly helpful; these, with many other marks of regard she experienced, will not easily be erased from our remembrance, and I hope your reward will be of an higher nature than anything I can do by way of return.[14] . . .

Rachel Wilson's own feelings on her return safely home are thus expressed in the concluding words of her journal:

My husband met me at Lancaster, where we parted, and great was the thankfulness, that filled both our minds under a sense of the many preservations both by sea and land. I found all my children favoured with health. My husband had not had one day's illness during my absence, nor I whilst on the continent of America.[15]

"She died, aged 54, in the house of Richard Chester, at Stoke Newington, near London, having been a minister thirty-six years, and her remains were interred at Bunhill Fields. She left eight children, and through them numerous descendants, many of whom became devoted Christians, and centers of influence, both in the Society of Friends and outside its borders."[15]

It is evident from all that has come down to us that she was no ordinary woman. The verdict of a Philadelphian is no doubt true, "She was a remarkably interesting and eloquent speaker and was much admired by people of all classes."[16]

CERTIFICATE OF REMOVAL FOR LETITIA PENN, 1701.

From our Monthly Meeting held at our Meeting House in Philadelphia the 27th of the 7th Mo. [September] 1701.

To our worthy & well beloved Friends & Sisters in London, Bristol, or wherever these shall come—Grace Mercy & peace from God the Father be greatly multiplied amonst you all—

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[14] From a MS. copy of the original letter in the Library of the Histor. Soc. of Penna.

[15] "Mem. Anna Braithwaite," p. 45.

[16] *The Friend* (Philadelphia), xx, 108.

Amen.—These may certify you that our loving & well beloved friend Letitia Penn, intending to cross Seas with her honorable Parents, has for good order sake desired a Certificate from us & we can freely certify all whom it may concern that she hath well behaved herself here very soberly & according to the good instruction which she hath received in the way of Truth being well inclined courteously carriaged & sweetly tempered in her conversation amonst us—& also a diligent comer to Meeting. & we hope hath plentifully received of the Dews which has fallen upon God's people, to her settlement & establishment in the same —she is clear from any engagements on the account of mariage, as far as we know, & our desires are earnestly for her preservation that she may faithfully serve the God of her Fathers, that so her green years being seasoned with grace, may bud blossom & bring forth ripe fruit to the praise of God, and the comfort of his people, which is the true desire of your friends & Sisters in the near relation of the unchangeable Truth.

Signed in behalf & by appointment of the Meeting. (Copied by H. L. 4 Mo. 1811.[1])

Note.—Letitia (1678-1746) was the fifth child of William and Gulielma Maria (Springett) Penn. She seems to have been a lively and self-willed girl. She is often referred to in Penn's letters as "Tishé." She accompanied her father to Pennsylvania in 1699, and insisted on returning to England with him in 1701. She married William Aubrey, of England, in 1702. Though satisfactory to her father and step-mother at the time, William Aubrey was a most troublesome and exacting son-in-law. Penn speaks of him as "a scraping man that will count interest for a guinea." He died 1711, and Letitia survived him fifteen years. There were no children.

After the above certificate was granted, James Logan says, "It was discovered of her . . . that she was under engagement of marriage to William Masters," some of the signers were so dissatisfied at what they had done that it was proposed to retract it. William Penn, Jr., said, W. Masters "could prove no engagement." See H. M. Jenkins, "The Family of William Penn," pp. 61-66; "Penn and Logan Correspondence," i, 128, 130-136.

[1] There is an incomplete copy in "Penns and Peningtons," p. 399.

BOOKS OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

Swarthmore Lecture. The Day of Our Visitation. By William Littleboy. Published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee by Headley Brothers, Ltd. [London], 1917. 7½ x 5 in., pp. 62. 1s.

This little volume, the eleventh of the series, is at once the shortest and perhaps the most striking. It is a message rather than a lecture or an historical study, and cannot be judged by ordinary canons of criticism. It treats of the "Promised Parousia [presence, or second coming] of Christ; The Urgent Call to Watchfulness; The Work before the Society of Friends; A Personal Appeal; and a brief Appendix on the Attitude of the Society of Friends in regard to the European War." This eloquent and able appeal is strongly commended to our readers.

William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania. By John W. Graham, M.A. Illustrated. London, Headley Bros., Ltd. New York, F. W. Stokes. 8½ x 5½ in., pp. 332. 6s, net, $1.75.

This, the most recent life of William Penn, is for the general reader, and indeed for all who wish in one volume to get a fairly well-rounded picture of Penn, the best life that has appeared. It is written by a Friend who not only approaches his subject from a Friendly point of view, but also understands the currents and counter-currents in Quaker history, as no outsider could understand them. The author states that "No original investigation into MS. sources has gone to the making of this volume," but it must be said that he has shown considerable skill as a compiler, and that he has produced a well-balanced and interesting work. The definitive life of Penn will not be written until the great mass of material accumulated by Albert Cook Myers is available to students. The character of William Penn will always be a subject of controversy. The wide field in which he moved; his strength and his weaknesses; his clearness of vision in most directions; his curious shortsightedness in others; his trustfulness in his friends, so great that it became a serious blot; his statesmanship, and yet his inability to read character; his noble adherence to freedom of conscience and religious liberty; his sweetness of spirit, and, above all, his deep spirituality, form a character so complex as to make a correct representation well-nigh impossible. The author of this Life is to be congratulated on the extent of his success.

The twenty-four illustrations are well chosen, though some have not been very successfully reproduced. The text, at the foot of the view, "Friends' Meeting House and School" (facing page 191), is an error. The buildings represented were in *South* Fourth Street, not at "Fourth and Arch Street," as stated. "Arch Street Meeting House" was not built until 1804. The note on page 264 gives the impression that in Penn-

sylvania alone among the colonies was there religious toleration; this is incorrect, for in Rhode Island there was complete religious toleration—the only colony in which Jew or Christian, unbeliever or heathen had equal rights and privileges. The map facing page 128 represents no particular period, and so is likely to cause misconceptions. It would have been better for it to be strictly early colonial, in which case Vermont, West Virginia, and Baltimore would not appear. The account of the nomenclature of the streets of Philadelphia (p. 156) is not quite correct. The names have been changed several times. Race Street was once "Sassafras," and Arch Street "Mulberry," and some others once bore different names. The north and south streets were at one time numbered from the Delaware River only as far as Broad (the fourteenth). West of Broad Street they were counted from the Schuylkill River ("Schuylkill First" and so on up to "Schuylkill Eighth," now Fifteenth Street). There was no First Street at the Delaware end, Front Street taking its place. The change to the present names was made officially in 1853. On the same page (156, note) reference is made to a statue of Penn "depicted on the cover of this book," but it is not given there. Chester has always been in Pennsylvania, not in the "Lower Counties," as stated on page 284, and implied on pages 155, 161.

The author seems to accept the tradition that the treaty with the Indians at Shackamaxon was a *general* treaty of amity, but there is little or no substantial evidence for this view. An account is given on page 190 of an interview of Penn with William III., and it is stated that we owe this narrative entirely "to Croese.[1] Clarkson, Besse, and Janney all mention it, but Paget, in his "New Examen" (pp. 340-347), disposes pretty effectually of the incident, showing it could not have taken place at the time stated. Croese, the authority for the story, was unfriendly to the Quakers, and made other errors which the English Friends officially corrected. In his account our author conjectures what the word "resentments" means in a letter which Penn is said to have received from James II. Had he been more familiar with seventeenth century English, or had consulted the Oxford English Dictionary he would know that in Penn's time "resentment" had a good as well as a bad meaning. Here it doubtless means simply his "appreciation," or "what returns" he would make.[2]

The date of Penn's second marriage (p. 237) by a typographical error is given as 1655-6, it should be 1695-6. On page 107 *Alchmaar* would be

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[1] *General History of the Quakers* (English translation of 1696), Part 2, p. 112. For corrections made by English Friends, see Appen. pp. 25-40.

[2] Compare Oliver Cromwell's use of the word in a letter of 4 February, 1650: "A testimony of very high respect and honour . . . which deserves a fuller return, of deep *resentment,* value and acknowledgment," etc. "Letters and Speeches," Lomax's ed., ii, 180.

better Alkmaar as more consistent with the spelling of the other names as well as more usual. It tends to convey a wrong impression to rank Penn's "Fruits of Solitude," and Franklin's "Sayings of Poor Richard" with Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy" (p. 212). The latter is a succession of platitudes, while no one can charge either of the first two with that fault. The discussion of the "subliminal self" (pp. 89-91) would better have been omitted. Not a few Friends would object to the somewhat dogmatic statement of "what the Friend means when he speaks . . . of the Light of Christ within," etc.

But these errors and oversights are trifling compared with the general excellence of the work. An Appendix, consisting of a "Note on Macaulay"[3] and a good Bibliography, a Chronology, and a fairly good Index, completes the volume.

President Wilson, His Problems and His Policy. By H. Wilson Harris. London, Headley Bros., 1917. New York, F. W. Stokes. 7 x 5 in., pp. 278. 6s, $1.75.

This volume is by a Friend, a nephew of Dr. J. Rendel Harris. To write contemporary biography is always a hazardous undertaking, and the question arises whether some modifications would not have been made in *this* volume had the publication been delayed six or eight months. The work must be characterized as partaking to a great extent of a panegyric. This is neither the time nor the place to do more than notice some impersonal statements.

The author shows more than usual knowledge of American affairs and makes very few serious errors. He appreciates far more than most of his countrymen the importance of our great West. Though his account of our system of government is nearly correct, it is clear that he does not fully understand it in action, especially in regard to the relations of State and Nation legally, politically and in elections. He is naturally so taken up with foreign or international relations that he scarcely recognizes the importance of many domestic problems; among these is the great and difficult Negro question which is ignored. In fact, domestic administration is scarcely touched upon. He is in error in thinking that our Ex-Presidents are "an embarrassment."[1] Hayes, Cleveland, Harrison, and Taft have been, each in his own way, very useful citizens, while John Quincy Adams performed his greatest service when an Ex-President. He is in error in ascribing, as he seems to do, the introduction of the

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[3] In this note Paget's "New Examen" is called "quite a small book," hardly a correct designation of a volume of 398 pages. This work of Paget also forms a part of his "Paradoxes and Puzzles," London, 1874.

[1] It is certainly allowable to ask why they should be a greater embarrassment than a British Prime Minister is in England.

"Group Elective System" in university education to the influence of Princeton. It was due to Johns Hopkins University which adopted it in 1876, twenty-five years or more before Princeton. Bryn Mawr College also, and others long antedated Princeton in this. It is not true that "the voter backs his party ticket solid." The author fails to recognize the power of the independent voter or how often he has used this power, particularly in State and local elections. Indeed, in the last Presidential election there were many instances of independent voting which exercised great influence. He greatly overestimates the value and work of "Primary Elections," and apparently is not aware of the increasing doubts of their advisability. The Index leaves a good deal to be desired. The book as a whole is an interesting study and reflects credit on the author.

The Religions of the World. By George A. Barton, Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. University of Chicago Press, Chicago [1917]. 8 x 5 in., pp. xi, 349. $1.50.

This volume is one of "The University of Chicago Publications in Religious Education—Handbooks of Ethics and Religion." Like all the books of the author, it is a scholarly work. It presents the most recent views of the various subjects treated. Its scope is extensive, its two extremes being Primitive Religions, and Christianity. It seems to be intended for somewhat advanced students, and is provided with references for "Supplementary Reading," lists of "Additional Books for the Use of the Teacher," "Topics for Further Study," etc., and an "Outline of a Book to be written by the student." There is a full Index.

The Annual Monitor for 1917. From October 1, 1915, to September 30, 1916. John Bellows, Gloucester, 1916. 5½ x 3½ in., pp. x, 189. 2s.

This is the 105th issue of this little annual. With the exception of Professor George Henry Emmott, for a number of years a Professor at Johns Hopkins University, and Dr. Silvanus P. Thompson, the physicist of world-wide reputation, few names will be familiar to American Friends. There is, however, the record, as in previous years, of the faithful service of many. A sad and unfamiliar note is in the Preface: "In the past two years, since the commencement of the War, we have had to record the deaths of several members of our Society who have given their lives at 'the Front' in their country's service. This year the number of such has sadly increased, there being upwards of thirty recorded in this volume." There are twenty-two excellent portraits.

Chronicles of Pennsylvania from the English Revolution to the Peace of Aix La Chapelle, 1688-1748. By Charles P. Keith, author of "Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania," etc. In two volumes. Philadelphia,

Patterson, White Co., 1917. Two volumes, 10 x 6½ in., pp. viii, 981 (paged continuously). Price, $5.00.

This work has been received too late for more than a brief notice. The question naturally arises, why was not the work begun with 1681? His previous books have shown that the author is well equipped for such a work as the present. In his work the Quakers play an important part. Even a casual review indicates that exception will be taken to not a few of his statements. There is a regrettable lack of references to authorities and sources.

Early Philadelphia. Its People, Life and Progress. By Horace Mather Lippincott. With a Photogravure Frontispiece, and 119 Illustrations. Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1917. (Limited edition printed from type.) 9½ x 6 in., pp. 340. $6.00.

This handsome volume contains much of interest. The numerous illustrations are well selected, and unusually well reproduced. The work, like Watson's Annals, is topically arranged, a system which necessarily involves more or less repetition. There is evidence of considerable search for material, but the work cannot be called historical, for fact, fiction, and tradition are almost indistinguishable and few authorities are given. This is to be regretted, as the work will be quoted as an authority by some readers. The title of the book is somewhat misleading, for some matters of comparatively late date are included, as, for instance, the Philadelphia Club, founded in 1833, and the history of cricket in Philadelphia.

In a brief review like the present it is natural that errors rather than excellencies should be noticed. The following may be pointed out: "William Sewell" (p. 15) should be "Sewel;" the Quaker printer spelled his name "Crukshank," not "Cruikshank" (pp. 45, 220); Ann Warder's account of the dress of Friends (p. 53) is repeated (p. 66). Did the Quakers ever claim Benjamin Franklin as one of their number (p. 73)?

The incident narrated on page 277, is attributed to "Captain Whitall," without the slightest authority, and those who were intimate with Captain John M. Whitall (1800-1877) know that the story is wholly incompatible with his character. Moreover, he can in no sense be ranked, as he is, with "early Quakers." His descendants will resent the ascription of the story to him. Independently of the wrong ascription, for the author to style such an anecdote, "A story characteristic of the temperament and training of early Quakers," is to do the early Friends the greatest injustice. The author knows little of Quaker history if that is his real opinion.

The notice of Benjamin West (p. 67) is based on Galt's Life of Benjamin West,[1] which has, with much justice, been characterized "as containing more mythical incidents than any book, purporting to be historical,

[1] Life of Benj. West, by John Galt, London, 1816.

published during the nineteenth century."[2] Benjamin West liked to speak of himself as a Quaker, but he never was a member with Friends. His father, though of Quaker birth, was not a Friend when he came to America, and his mother was disowned about the time of her marriage or earlier. His father joined Friends in 1759, twenty-one years after the birth of his son Benjamin. The story given of the action purporting to have been taken by Springfield Meeting in regard to the artistic efforts of the youthful West is apocryphal on the face of it. The so-called address of John Williamson was doubtless the work of Galt himself who knew how to tell a good story.[3]

The author evidently likes to tell a good story himself, but he has not been careful enough to investigate sources. It requires courage to spoil traditions, especially those which are attractive and which have been often repeated, but the true antiquarian and chronicler "sets his teeth and goes ahead;" gives the story, it may be, but classifies it relentlessly.

What is Quakerism? By Edward Grubb, M.A. Published for the Woodbrooke Extension Committee. London, Headley Bros., Publishers, Ltd., 1917. 7½ x 4¾ in., pp. 244. 2s. 6.

This book deserves a longer notice than is possible to give. The author meets an obvious criticism by saying in his Preface, that he "has written throughout from the standpoint of an English Quaker and has made little or no attempt to indicate the rather different positions of the various bodies of Friends in the United States and Canada."

There may be different opinions regarding the author's treatment of the various subjects presented, but there can be but one opinion as to the general fairness and tolerance of his book. His explanation of the Inward Light is clear and helpful. "Faith in the Inward Light [does] not mean that everyone must do that which [is] right in his own eyes, and that there [is] no common moral standard (p. 41)." "The Inward Light of the Quakers . . . was the light in their souls of the living *Christ*, and they never intended to separate this from the life and character of Jesus when on earth (p. 126)."

The chapters on the philanthropic, social, educational and missionary enterprises are valuable. The author's remarks on socialism deserve thoughtful attention. His conclusion that socialism *as yet* offers no clear alternative to the present system is based on substantial foundations. The chapter on "The Present Outlook" is suggestive. There are two useful Appendices and a good Index.

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[2] H. G. Ashmead, Hist. Chester Co., Pa., cited in *Penna. Mag. of Hist and Biog.*, xxxii, 2.

[3] See *Penna. Mag.*, xxxii, 1-30, G. Smith, "Hist. Delaware Co., Pa., p. 5-12; Futhey and Cope, "Hist. Chester Co., Pa., p. 761; Bulletin Friends' Histor. Soc., iii, 50.

NOTES AND QUERIES

SAMUEL ROWLAND FISHER.—"The Journal of Samuel Rowland Fisher, 1779-1781," noted in the last number of THE BULLETIN, is continued in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XLI, No. 2. As an account of a conscientious objector of the American Revolution it has special interest at the present time.

JOURNAL OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Since the last issue of the BULLETIN, two numbers of the *Journal* have appeared, Vol. XIV, Nos. 2 and 3. As usual, the pages are replete with Quaker information. One of the most interesting papers is that in No. 3, "A Private View of London Yearly Meeting in Sessions of 1818 and 1825."

LECTURE ON THE QUAKERS.—A volume, recently issued by the Harvard University Press (1917), entitled, "The Religious History of New England," is made up of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Lowell Institute. Among these is one on "The Quakers," by Dr. Rufus M. Jones. It is in his usual excellent style, but is not as strictly historical as could be wished. It covers pages 179-201.

COTTON MATHER AND WILLIAM PENN.—The old "Cotton Mather Hoax" has come up again, and again it has to be denied. A correspondence relative to the matter appeared a few weeks ago in the columns of the *Public Ledger*, of Philadelphia, and of the *New York Evening Post*, October 9, 1917. For the complete answer to this perennial hoax, see BULLETIN, Vol. I, 89; Vol. 3, 148. It is again denied by Worthington C. Ford in the *New York Evening Post*, October 11, 1917.

ISAAC SHARP.—An "appreciation" of Isaac Sharp, for twenty-seven years "Recording Clerk" or Secretary of London Yearly Meeting, appeared in *Friends' Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, Eighth month 25, 1917. It was illustrated by an excellent portrait. Every one who is acquainted with Isaac Sharp will unite in the words of appreciation.

Since the above was in type the sad news of the death of Isaac Sharp, Tenth month 9, 1917, has reached us.

SANDY SPRING MEETING, MARYLAND.—A brief, but interesting account of this meeting by Mary Bentley Thomas is given in the *Friends' Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, for Ninth month 8, 1917. Several instances of dealing with offenders are given with "testimonies of disownment." At Brookeville, four miles from

Sandy Spring, President Madison and some of his Cabinet halted in their flight from Washington (Eighth month 24, 25, 1814), which became, as it were, a temporary capital. The Sandy Spring neighborhood has always been progressive; it was one of the very first rural communities in the United States to have a local telephone system, and has always been distinguished for good schools, and excellent farming. It was once a large settlement of Friends, and though their number is much lessened, a strong Friendly influence remains. The neighborhood is, however, still without railroad facilities, the nearest railroad being twelve miles distant, and there is no trolley system within several miles.

A Letter of William Penn.— *The Dial* (Chicago) for September 13, 1917, in its "Notes for Bibliophiles," prints a letter of William Penn dated "Pall Mall, my birthday, 14th of 8th mo. 1709," to James Logan. The letter is a long one, and shows more irritation than is often the case with Penn.

The letter is intended to be given *verbatim et literatim*, but there are several obvious errors in transcription. The letter was recently purchased by John L. Clawson, a collector, of Buffalo, N. Y.

Still Another Cotton Mather-Penn Hoax. — Albert Cook Myers contributes to the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* of September 22, 1917, a forged letter, which, he says, appeared in England in 1907, purporting to be from Cotton Mather. It is addressed to "Master John Hutchinson," and dated "Boston Dec. ye 20th, 1682." It is concerning the attempt "to waylaye ye 'Welcome' with W Pen aboarde." This letter, as Albert Cook Myers points out, is a sequel to the old hoax. It is a transparent forgery, and is only mentioned here to warn the unwary reader.

Galt's "Benjamin West."— Charles P. Keith, in his "Chronicles of Pennsylvania," noticed elsewhere in this number, makes use of Galt's story of Springfield Meeting and the youthful West (pp. 135, 136). It is another instance of how hard it is to correct errors, oversights, or fictitious statements that once get into print. (See page 42 of this number of the Bulletin.)

Hannah Callowhill Penn.— The criticism in Keith's "Chronicles of Pennsylvania" regarding William Penn's second marriage, and of Hannah Callowhill herself (p. 369), is decidedly open to question, and will scarcely be accepted by many as just.